

his first visit at an unseasonable hour of the night, not regarding the very unseasonableness was enough to render it suspicious. Souza received him upon his guard: they discoursed of things indifferent. The King went away, believing he had ensnared Souza; and he had given him a sufficient caution.* Nuno de Cunha, being advertised by Emanuel de Souza of the posture of affairs at Diù, thought it strange that he had not secured the King when in his power, and his wicked intentions were known; and that he had given out that ships were come from Portugal with great supplies.

"This invention endangered Nuno; for Badur resolved to murder him first, that he might not come to the relief of the fort when Souza was killed. He writ to him, desiring

he would come to Diù about important affairs.

"Nuno, though he knew his wicked designs, made no difficulty of going. He set out of Goa on the 9th January, and what with the vessels he carried, and those which followed him, appeared there with near three hundred sail. He put in at Choul, and found that Nizamaluco, induced thereto by Badur, had been there with eight thousand men, pretending it was to divert his women at sea, but in reality with an ill design on that place, which was disappointed by the care of Simon Guedez, who commanded there. At Baçaim (Bassein) he took up his brother-in-law, Anthony di Silveyra, a man of great worth, and left in his place Ruyvaz Pereyra. King Badur was at that time in the mountains hunting. Nuno sent to visit him; but he who let slip no opportunity, now especially, prevented him by sending to him first one John de St Jago, not long before a Christian, but fallen again, and become a favourite of Badur by the name of Frangue Cham. Cunha was indisposed, and feigned himself worse; so lying off of Diù, he sent to excuse himself to the King for not landing immediately.

^{*} This passage ought to be, "though in reality he had put him on his guard."





"The King feigning great friendship presently enters into a boat, in which he had sent Nuno a present of venison. There went with him thirteen men of quality, and Emanuel de Souza, who had carried the last message from Nuno de Cunha to him. He received him on board the galleon in the best manner he could. Being seated, they discoursed of indifferent things; but the King was surprised to see a page whisper Nuno de Cunha: it was a message from Emanuel de Souza, who believing he was to be there secured, or killed, sent word that some captains were waiting his orders. The King was somewhat quieter seeing Cunha did not mind the page, and soon arose and went away. Cunha had thought it strange that Souza did not secure the King when he had him in the fort alone; and now having him aboard the galleon, he did not detain him.* Nuno ordered all the officers to accompany the King first to his palace, and then Emanuel de Souza to the fort, where he proposed to secure the King when he came to visit him, as the King, on the other side, had resolved to seize him at a dinner he had a design to invite him to, and send him to the great Turk in a cage. Emanuel de Souza was going to invite the King to the fort, while Nuno de Cunha got thither. He came up with the King's catur or barge, and made the offer by the means of Rume Cham, who at the same time advised the King not to go, because he suspected they would secure him. He slighted the caution, and bid Souza come into his barge, who stepping over, fell into the sea, but being taken up, the officers who came with him carried him to the King. At the same time came up another of our barges, and some gentlemen, who, seeing Emanuel de Souza, entered hastily into the King's. He suspecting their hasty coming aboard, together with the

^{*} This passage should be, "Cunha thought it strange on a former occasion that Emanuel de Souza did not seize the King when he had him alone in the fort; but it seems more strange that Cunha did not now seize him when on board his vessel."



caution given by Rume Cham, ordered his officers to kill Emanuel de Souza. James de Mesquita understanding it, flew at, and wounded the King, whilst they killed that valiant captain. There was a bloody fray, in which four of our gentlemen were killed, having slain seven of the enemy. Other of our barges coming up, received some damage from a page, who shot several with the King's bow, till killed with a musket-ball. Three of the King's ships (boats) came up to rescue him. He seeing the danger began to fly, but was stopped by a cannon shot, which killed three of his men that rowed. The King thought now to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning, cried out, discovering who he was. Tristan de Payva de Santarem coming up, reached out to him an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water and then sunk, and neither his nor Emanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno de Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due fimeral honours."

Extract from the Mirut-Iskundry.

An Account of the mode in which the Portuguese obtained a footing in Diù by stratagem, and of the martyrdom of the King by the hands of the treacherous captain, or governor, of the Portuguese.

"It is stated, that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to fly, owing to the unfortunate events which have been previously related, he came to the port of Diù. The Portuguese made offers of their assistance, and endeavoured to console him, saying, that the sea-ports along the coast were in their hands, and that they were prepared to afford an asylum to the King in any of them he might select for his residence. Bahadur Shah, owing to his distresses, received these offers with thankfulness. One





day the Portuguese represented that their merchants, who were in the habit of trading to Did, were obliged to find warehouses for their goods in separate remote parts of the town; they requested, therefore, that permission might be granted them to occupy a hide of land, on which they might construct an enclosure to contain and protect their goods. This request being acceded to, the King left Diù and proceeded to put down his enemies. The Portuguese, availing themselves of the King's absence, cut the hide of a cow into strips, and measured out a spot equal to the length of the thongs, where they built a strong stone fortification, on which they placed guns, and occupied it with soldiers. The instant the King heard of this, he became much disturbed, and began to consider how he should expel those infidels. He wished, however, to effect it by stratagem, so that the object might be gained with facility. He therefore proceeded from Ahmudabad to Cambay, and thence to Diù. The Portuguese concluded that this step was not undertaken without some treacherous design; and though the King did all in his power to allay their suspicions, they continued to think his conduct was hypocritical. It is stated that when the King arrived at Gogo. on the coast of Diù, he deputed Noor Mahomed Khuleel, one of the confidential officers of his court, to the Portuguese chief, with instructions to use every artifice to persuade him to come and pay a visit to the King. When this envoy met the Captain, he was thrown off his guard by the abundant civilities and attentions shown to him. While they were drinking wine together, the Captain asked Noor Mahomed Khuleel what were the King's real designs? and the envoy communicated that which ought not to have been told, and exposed the King's secret intentions. The night passed away, and on the morning the Captain said, 'I am the King's sincere friend; but owing to indisposition, I find it impossible to wait on him in person.' Noor Mahomed Khuleel returned and delivered the message. The King, supposing that the Captain was deterred from fear, resolved to go on board



his vessel, on the plea of enquiring after his health, but in fact to allay his suspicions. He ordered his barge, therefore, and was accompanied by five or six of his favourite officers: such as

Ameer Nus * Farooky, Shooja Khan,

Lungur Khan, the son of Kadur Shah of Mando,

Alup Khan, the son of Shooja Gukkur,

Sikundur Khan, the governor of Sutwas, and

Kuns Row, the brother of Medny Row.

He directed that his attendants should not even carry arms with them; and although his ministers and officers represented that it was undignified and imprudent in the King to go, it was of no avail; for it is recorded in holy writ, that when death comes, it will not delay for one moment, nor will it be stopped in its progress.' He placed his foot in the barge, and set off. The Captain having laid his plans for seizing the King, proceeded towards the shore to meet him, and attended him on board his own vessel, where he began to exhibit various apish attentions and politeness, though treachery was at the bottom. Bahadur Shah was also contriving something of the same nature; but fortune did not second his plans, and they failed.

"During a pause in the conversation, the Portuguese dogs made some preconcerted signals to each other. The King perceived that he was betrayed, and that fortune and prosperity had turned their backs on him. His officers addressed him and said, 'Did not we tell you before that we should all be ruined?' He replied, 'If so, fate has ordained it.' The King now arose, and was attacked on all sides by the Portuguese. They say he was near his own boat, when a Portuguese soldier struck him over the head with a sword, and threw him into the water. Those persons who were with him also shared in the honour of

martyrdom.

^{*} This name is written the same in three MSS, in the East-India-House library, but it is probably erroneous in all of them.





"This event happened on the 3d of the month of Rumzan, A. H. 943, (14th of February, A. D. 1537,) and has been commemorated in the following words, comprising the numerals which form the date of the year wherein it occurred; which chronogram was composed by the minister Yekhtiar Khan:—

سلطان البرشهيد الص

" 'The king of the land became a martyr at sea."

"Bahadur Shah was twenty years of age when he ascended the throne, he reigned eleven years, and was, consequently, thirty-one years old when he was killed."

From these extracts it appears plain, that both Nuno de Cunha and Bahadur Shah were resolved each to seize the other; that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party; so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident, which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related.

The Turkish historian Ferdi, according to Chevalier du Hammer, relates that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to retreat to Did, he sent his family and the royal jewels to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindoo princes of Joonagur, Champanere, Aboogur, and Chittoor, and also of the property of the King of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India, but fell into the hands of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, who from their possession became entitled to the appellation of Soliman the May ficent. The celebrated waist-belt, valued at three million of aspers, which had been three times taken and retaken in the wars in India, (vide pp. 39 .- 83. and 124.) was sent to Soliman by an ambassador whom Bahadur Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Seignior against Hoomayoon.





MEERAN MAMOMED SHAH FAROOKY.

In default of heirs, Meeran Mahomed Shah of Kandeish is raised to the throne—he dies suddenly.

On the death of Bahadur Shah, his mother, Mukdooma Jehan, left Diù, and repaired to Ahmudabad. On the road she heard of the arrival of Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who had previously proceeded to Lahore for the purpose of causing a diversion on the north-west frontier of Dehly. Having learned the death of the King, this prince put on mourning, and came to condole with the Dowagerqueen, for the purpose, as it would appear, of gaining her confidence and plundering the royal treasures. After having been hospitably entertained for several days in the most splendid manner, he one night attacked and defeated the guard over the treasury, and carried away seven hundred boxes of gold, with which he made his escape, and raised a force of twelve thousand men, consisting of Moguls and Hindoostanies. The Guzerat officers, however, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, nephew of Bahadur Shah, who was then in Malwa, to ascend the throne; and without further hesitation, coins were struck, and public prayers read in his name. Meanwhile Imad-ool-Moolk, at the head



of a large force, marched against Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who though sufficiently ambitious, was so devoted to his pleasures, that he was attacked, and his army defeated, himself making his escape to Sind. After which period he never again interrupted the peace of Guzerat. Meeran Mahomed Shah did not long survive his elevation. Having been taken suddenly ill, on reaching Guzerat, he died after a short reign of six weeks, A. H. 943.





MAHMOOD SHAH III.

Mahmood, the son of the Prince Luteef Khan, and who had been confined in Aseer for many years, is raised to the throne — is basely assassinated by his minion Boorhan.

On the death of Meeran Mahomed Shah, there remained no heir to the crown of Guzerat excepting Mahmood Khan the son of Luteef Khan, nephew of the late Bahadur Shah, by whose order he had been confined under Meeran Mahomed Khan Farooky at Boorhanpoor, because during his uncle's reign he once aspired to the crown. In this state of affairs, the Guzerat nobles deputed Mokbil Khan, the brother of Yekhtiar Khan, to Boorhanpoor, inviting Mahmood to the capital, in order to acknowledge him as their sovereign. measure met with opposition from Meeran Moobarik Khan, the brother of the late king; but the Guzerat chiefs marched to Boorhanpoor, and demanding the release of the Prince Mahmood, Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled, from motives of policy, to comply with their wishes. He left Boorhanpoor for Guzerat on the 10th of Zeekad 10. Zeekad, in the year 944, and was form-А. н. 944. ally crowned at Ahmudabad, and Yekh-April 5. tiar Khan became prime minister. In A. D. 1538. the following year, Yekhtiar Khan having lost his life in an affray, Imad-ool-Moolk was created



Ameer-ool-Omra, and Duria Khan was raised to the office of prime minister; but in the end of the same year jealousy and dissensions arose between these two nobles. Duria Khan persuaded the King to quit Ahmudabad, and proceeded, on the plea of hunting, towards Champanere. Imad-ool-Moolk being thus separated from the court, collected troops and followed. The soldiers penetrating the secret object of his march demanded an advance of pay; after which they left him in the course of three or four marches, and went over to the King. Imad-ool-Moolk, thus abandoned, was glad to compromise matters with Duria Khan, and agreed to retire quietly to his estate of Burungaum, in the distrct of Sorut, and the King returned to Ahmudabad. In the year 947, Duria Khan, on learning that Imad-ool-Moolk A. D. 1540.

A. B. 1540. Khan, on learning that Imad-ool-Moolk was again raising troops, marched against him, and the latter being defeated fled to Aseer, and placed himself under the protection of Meeran Moobarik Khan Farooky, who espoused his cause. Mahmood Shah Guzeratty now marched into Kandeish, and was opposed at some distance from Boorhanpoor, when Meeran Moobarik Khan was defeated and fled to Aseer, and Imad-ool-Moolk sought shelter with Kadur Khan, ruler of Malwa. Mahmood Shah, availing himself of his good fortune, laid waste the country of Kandeish; and Meeran Moobarik Khan was induced to come into the Guzerat camp to ask pardon, accompanied by his most respectable nobles. The minister Duria Khan, who had no competitor at court, ex-



ercised unlimited control in the Guzerat councils; and in a short time it became apparent that Mahmood Shah had dwindled into a mere pageant.

The King, perceiving his degraded condition, made his escape one night to Dundooka, the jageer of Alum Khan Lody, who espousing his cause, collected a force of four thousand cavalry, while Duria Khan, in concert with Mohafiz Khan and some other of his relations, elevated a poor creature of low origin to the throne under the title of Moozuffur Shah, exercising authority in his name. In order to conciliate the nobility, their estates were enlarged, the salaries of public officers were increased, and the pretender with his minister marched with an army to Dowluka, where they were opposed by Alum Khan, who making a desperate charge on the advance of the enemy dispersed it; but on penetrating to the main body, after a bloody action he was obliged to retreat, not having more than five horsemen left with him. In this dilemma, however, he had presence of mind to escape without notice, and reaching the fort of Dowluka, circulated a report that Duria Khan being defeated had fled to Ahmudabad, but that as part of his army still remained firm, it became necessary to secure the gates of the fort. Duria Khan's officers hearing he had fled, lost no time in going over to the opposite party; and he, who conceived he had gained a victory, was surprised to discover that many of his officers had joined the King. Finding affairs had taken this unfavourable turn, Duria Khan conceived it pru-



dent to retire to Boorhanpoor, from whence he eventually joined Sheer Shah at Dehly. Alum Khan, seeing himself without rivals, thought of nothing else than of usurping the crown of Guzerat; but the King, penetrating his design, obliged him to fly, and he also joined Sheer Shah. The King having now recovered his authority, caused a city to be built within twelve coss of Ahmudabad, and called it Mahmoodabad, but the place was never completed.

In this reign the fort of Surat, on the shore of the sea of Ooman, was completed by Suffy Agha Toork, commonly called Khoodabunda Khan, before which time the Europeans were in the habit of attacking the Mahomedans along that coast. They made several attempts to prevent the building of the fort of Surat, and even brought armed vessels to effect their purpose, but they were generally defeated. The work is strong and well constructed. On the two sides opposed to the land is a ditch sixty feet wide; and the curtain, which is sixty feet high, has a rampart thirty-five yards in width. The whole of the masonry is connected either by bars of iron or lead. Within the town is a beautiful building four stories high, which the Hindoos call Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Portuguese palace. Finding they could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums of money to induce Khoodahunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was rejected. Mahmood Shah reigned without opposition till the





year 961, when he was put to death by Dowlut, at the instigation of one Boorhan, while reposing on his couch. The cause which led to this transaction will be found in the following account of the life and adventures of Boorhan:—

Boorhan was the Pesh Nimaz (private chaplain) of Mahmood Shah. The King having reason to be offended with him caused him to be built up in a mud-wall, leaving his head only exposed, with the intention of allowing him to be starved to death. Shortly after, the King passing the place, his eyes fell on Boorhan, and being still alive he made a bow, which induced the King to order him to be dug out; but the contraction of the clay and long fasting had reduced him, and bruised him to that degree that it became necessary to preserve him for a considerable time in cotton, during which the King's physicians attended him until he recovered. In spite of the King's mercy, however, Boorhan always bore malice against his sovereign, and secretly sought his life. Sometime after, during a hunting excursion, the King again became offended with Boorhan. As it is customary in the courts of all monarchs to be in favour at one time and in the back-ground at another, Boorhan was again submitted to degradation, and a second time pardoned. On his return from hunting one day the King lay down on a couch, and it occurred to Boorhan that the present afforded a favourable opportunity for revenge. This officer while in favour at court was intrusted with the command of a band of two hundred men, called





the Tiger-killers, no man being embodied in that corps who had not killed a tiger. With this band he hoped to have his revenge, and suggested to his own nephew, Dowlut, that it would be easy to kill the King while asleep, and by that means Boor-

han hoped to ascend the throne of Guzerat.

Dowlut assenting to the proposal, and being in the habit of combing the King's hair, which he wore very long, he made preparations for fumigating it according to custom; but finding that the King slept soundly, he tied his locks to the bedpost, and severed his head from his body. The deed being done, Boorhan conceiving he might now reach the throne, took measures accordingly; and having ordered, in the King's name, ten of the tiger-killers into a private apartment, gave them instructions to put to death all who came in. The first persons summoned were Khoodabunda Khan and Asuf Khan, who the moment they entered were put to death. The executioners supposed they acted by the King's orders, and the nobles imagined they were going to a private audience. Many officers thus fell victims to the snare, till at length Etimad Khan being sent for, he refused to go, as also Afzul Khan, an old nobleman, upwards of seventy years of age. Boorhan pretending that the King was offended with Khoodabunda Khan and Asuf Khan, had ordered them to be executed, and stated that Mahmood Shah had appointed Afzal Khan prime minister. To support this assertion he sent Afzul Khan an honorary dress; but the old man, suspecting treachery, refused to wear it till he saw the King. On this, Boorhan,





taking him into the private apartment, where the King lay weltering in his blood, said, "Thus have I " slain him, and thus have I killed many of the " most powerful nobles, but I now appoint you my "minister." Afzul Khan was so affected and shocked at the spectacle, that he burst indignantly into the most virulent curses and imprecations on the head of the wretch who addressed him; and Boorhan, stung with shame, and boiling with rage, drew his sword, and slew that venerable nobleman on the spot. The wretch then addressing the executioners, gave them large presents and titles, and himself sat on the throne, apparently glorying in the bloody scene; after which he continued to lavish large sums of money till the following morning. Next day he gave the elephants and horses of the royal stables to fellows of the lowest description, endeavouring by this means to obtain popularity. The death of the King was no sooner known at the capital than Imad-ool-Moolk, Anwur Khan Abyssinian, and many other officers, assembled a force, and marched to dethrone Boorhan, who came forth to oppose them, having the white canopy borne over his head, and followed by the populace on whom he had bestowed the royal treasures. The conflict was short but sanguinary. On the first charge of the cavalry the mob was dispersed; and the assassin, who styled himself Boorhan Shah, was among the slain; after which his body was dragged through the streets at the foot of an elephant. The reign of Mahmood Shah lasted eighteen years, three months, and some days. In the same year, also, died Sulim, the son of Sheer





Shah of Dehly, and Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmudnuggur.

Mahmood Shah was considered a just prince, fond of encouraging literature, particularly punctual in keeping public festivals, and liberal in the

distribution of charity.

The most remarkable work of his age is the park wall *, fourteen miles in circumference, on the banks of the Kary, in which was plenty of game, and many pleasure-houses. Mahmood carried his fancy to such lengths, in the embellishments in this park, as to clothe the trunks of many of the trees round the pleasure-houses with green and scarlet velvets. He left no heir, having given positive instructions to all the attendants in the seraglio, that when any of the ladies became pregnant, medicines should be administered to produce abortions, rather than incur the necessity of infanticide after birth; for he conceived this to be the only means of securing himself from the attacks of his children. It is worthy of remark, that he permitted Etimad Khan, originally a Hindoo slave, who persuaded the King he had destroyed his virility by the use of camphor, to reside within the seraglio without restraint.

The following lines, commemorating the date of the death of the three kings who died in this year, were written by the author's father, Gholam Ally

Hindoo Shah : -

^{*} This spot, situated in the neighbourhood of Surat, is particularly mentioned and described by Abool Fuzl in the Ayeen Akburry.

MAHMOOD SHAH III.

1.

سه خسرورا زوالامد پکسال که هند ازعدلشاری دارالاماری بود

2.

بکي محمود شه سلطان گحرات که همحون دولت خود نو جوان بود

3.

دكر اسلام شه سلطان دهلي كه اندر عبدد حود صاحب قران بود

4.

سوم ا مد نطام الملک بهبري که در ملک دکن خسر و نشان بود

5.

وتاييخ و فاتان سه پاد شاه چه مېپرسي زوال خسر وان بود

Three kings met with destruction in the same year,
By whose wise rule Hind was the abode of prosperity.
The first was Mahmood Shah of Guzerat,
Who like his own state was in his full prime.
The second was Islam Shah, King of Dehly,
Who in his vast domain was a type of Alexander.
The third was Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry,
Who in the territory of the Deccan was an example to other princes.

As to the period when these three sovereigns died, Why ask it of me? "It was the destruction of kings." *

^{*} The words زوال خسر واس بود make up the number 961, the date alluded to.





AHMUD SHAH II.

Ahmud is raised to the throne by Etimad Khan — he imprudently betrays his hatred of his minister and benefactor — is found dead one morning in the streets.

MAHMOOD SHAH having left no heir, and there being no relation on whom the succession might devolve, Etimad Khan resolved, rather than see the kingdom in absolute anarchy, to elevate a youth, whom he asserted to be the son of the Prince Ahmud, formerly governor of Ahmudabad, and declared him the legal successor to the crown, Etimad Khan and Meeran Syud Moobarik Bokhary assuming the titles of protectors. The boy remained in this state of tutelage for five years; after which, having made a friend of the second protector, Meeran Syud Moobarik Khan, he retired to Mahmoodabad, and there, in concert with some military chieftains, put himself at the head of a force. while Etimad Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk *, with several other officers of Ahmudabad, marched to oppose him. The armies met near Mahmoodabad. where Meeran Syud Moobarik Khan being killed, the King was obliged to fly; but he subsequently

^{*} This title in Guzerat, like Nizam-ool-Moolk and Meev Joomla in other courts, seems to have belonged to the person officiating as minister of state.



returned, and having granted jageers to most of the officers with Etimad Khan, became reconciled to that chief. The power assumed by the minister, however, created jealousy in the mind of the nobles, and a confederacy was formed at the instance of the King, at the head of which was Tartar Khan Ghoory and Imad-ool-Moolk, who one day attacked his palace, and planted cannon against it. Etimad Khan flying, made his escape to the country of Poloh, in the suburbs of the Champanere district, where having collected a force, he returned to Ahmudabad; and through the intervention of some of the officers was again acknowledged prime minister. He received, at the same time, the whole country lying between the sea and Malwa, and the rivers Mehindry and Nurbudda, in jageer. King could not conceal his animosity against Etimad Khan; and on one occasion drawing his sword he cut a plaintain tree in twain at a blow, and said, "Would to God it had been Etimad "Khan." Shortly after this, the King was found assassinated, lying at the foot of the palace wall; and a report was spread the next day, that he had been carrying on an intrigue under the windows of some nobleman's house at night, when the master of the house, without knowing him, ran out,

fought him, and put him to death. The weak and inglorious reign of Ahmud

Shah lasted eight years.



MOOZUFFUR SHAH III.

Etimad Khan raises a supposititious son of Mahmood II. to the throne. — The King remains a pageant in the minister's hands. — The kingdom divided among the nobles into seven provinces. — The rulers of each contend for supremacy. — Civil war in Guzerat. — Arrival of the Mirxas, the sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza — their extensive power — they are expelled by Chungiz Khan, governor of the southern provinces. — Chungiz Khan dies. — The Mirzas return from Malwa, and re-occupy their estates. — Etimad Khan invites Akbur into Guzerat. — The Mirzas expelled by Akbur. — Their territory occupied. — Moozuffur Shah abdicates the throne, and retires to Agra. — Moozuffur Shah, after nine years, quits Agra, and re-ascends the throne of Guzerat — is expelled, and eventually taken prisoner, and dies.

A. u. 969.
A. D. 1561. Shah II., in the year 969, Etimad Khan produced a lad named Hubboo*, whom he stated to be the son of Mahmood Shah II.; asserting that his mother had concealed the circumstance of her pregnancy till the fifth month, when the medicines given to produce an abortion having no effect the child was born, but brought up privately; to which facts he procured witnesses to swear. This testimony being received as sufficiently satisfactory, the boy was duly crowned, under the name of Moozuffir Shah III.; and Etimad

^{*} Familiar contraction of Hubeeb.



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Khan was appointed sole protector, with the title of Vizier. The kingdom of Guzerat was now subdivided into separate provinces, and allotted to the several officers in the following manner:—

The Puttun district as far south as Kurry was allotted to Moosy Khan and Sheer Khan Folady.

The districts of Radunpoor, Neriad, and Tehrwara, as far as Moonjpoor, were made over to Futteh Khan Buloch.

The districts between the Saburmutty and Mehindry rivers were reserved by Etimad Khan for himself.

The province of Surat, and the districts of Nandote and Champanere, to Chungiz Khan.

The province of Baroach to Roostoom Khan,

the nephew of Chungiz Khan.

The districts of Dowluka and Dundooka to Syud Meeran, the son of Syud Moobarik Khan

Bokhary.

The province of Sorut, including the fort of Joonagur, to Ameer Khan Goony, who afterwards withdrew from the confederacy. Matters being thus arranged, Etimad Khan retained Moozuffur Shah as a sort of state-prisoner; but he was daily exhibited at court sitting upon the throne; and though the minister went through the form of saluting him, many of the chiefs refused to do so. Things continued for some time in this state, till at length Chungiz Khan governor of Surat, and Sheer Khan Folady of Puttun, came to reside at the capital. Sometime after a dispute arising between the civil officers of the Puttun and Radunpoor divisions, the governors in support of



their servants made war on each other; and the latter chief being defeated, Futteh Khan Buloch joined Etimad Khan at the capital, who immediately marched to attack Sheer Khan Folady. Sheer Khan, unable to oppose him in the field, took shelter in the fort of Puttun, and made overtures for accommodation; but these not being attended to, the inhabitants of Puttun finding they had no remedy resolved to fight; and marching out with less than three thousand cavalry, attacked Etimad Khan's army, consisting of thirty thousand horse, with a desperation for which the latter were unprepared. Etimad Khan's army was defeated, and sought safety in flight. Hajy Khan, an officer who had joined Etimad Khan from Dehly, and who commanded his troops, abandoned his cause, and joined the Foladies. Notwithstanding the defection of Hajy Khan from his party, he demanded to be allowed to enjoy the revenue of his estate, which was in the hands of Etimad Khan. To this the latter refused his assent, till compelled to do so by the Foladies, who marched to occupy it. The Foladies were opposed by Etimad Khan at Chowt'hana, where he was defeated a second time, and fled to Baroach. Etimad Khan now entreated the assistance of Chungiz Khan, through whose mediation a peace was concluded, and Hajy Khan's estate was restored. The reverses which Etimad Khan had sustained induced Chungiz Khan to write to him on the subject of the person whom he styled Moozuffur Shah, saying, "You have placed upon the throne a boy "whom nobody knows, but whom you declare to

MOOZUFFUR SHAH III.



"be the son of Mahmood Shah: if this be true, "how is it you prevent his communicating with "any one but yourself, and how do you venture to "sit in his presence, which I am informed you "are in the habit of doing? If, on the other hand, "he is not the son of Moozuffur Shah, by what "authority did you impose upon the nation, by "swearing that he was heir to the crown?" Etimad Khan replied, that it was sufficient that he himself knew the circumstances of his birth; observing that Chungiz Khan's father, if alive, could also swear to the facts alleged by him, and to the identity of the King's person; that it therefore behoved him to treat him with the respect which his father had always paid to the late king. Sheer Khan Folady, becoming acquainted with this correspondence, made overtures to Chungiz Khan to seize Étimad Khan, recommending, in the mean time, that no measures of hostility should yet be undertaken. Chungiz Khan, who had now become acquainted with the timidity of Etimad Khan's character, despised him, and merely demanded an increased portion of territory to support the troops which had collected about him. Etimad Khan, unwilling to refuse, pointed out to him the district of Nundoorbar, on the banks of the Tapty, which had been usurped by the ruler of Kandeish during the late anarchy in Guzerat; observing that the King was entitled to recover it, either by negotiation or by force. The object of Etimad Khan was to get rid of the importunities of Chungiz Khan, and to direct his attention towards Kandeish instead of Guzerat; hoping



that he would be induced, if successful, to attempt the conquest of Kandeish, or if unsuccessful, that he might be subdued: in either of which cases Etimad Khan would get rid of a formidable rival. Chungiz Khan caught at the idea; and having occupied Nundoorbar in the year 974, was tempted to march on to Talnere, where he learned that Mahomed Shah Farooky, the son of Meeran Moobarik Shah, accompanied by Toofal Khan, governor of Berar, was in full march to oppose him. Chungiz Khan occupied a strong position among the broken ground and heights near Talnere, and placed his artillery and his baggage carts in the roads which run along the ravines leading towards it. * Meeran Moobarik Shah Farooky arrived at daylight, but delayed attacking till he had reconnoitred Chungiz Khan's position, whom he could by no means induce to quit his advantageous post. At night, however, he commenced his retreat towards Baroach, and was so closely pursued by the Kandeish troops, that all his baggage and artillery fell into their hands. Nundoorbar was immediately retaken, and a strong garrison placed therein. At this period the sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, five in number, who had been confined in the fort of Sumbhul, by order of Akbur Padshah, when that A.H. 975. monarch marched in the year 975 for the purpose of subduing Malwa, now A. D. 1567. made their escape, and sought an asylum with Chungiz Khan at Baroach. In this history they

^{*} This accurately describes the approaches to Talnere.





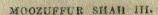
are styled The Mirzas *: their names are as follow: --

> Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza. Musaood Hoossein Mirza. Alugh Mirza. Shah Mirza.

Chungiz Khan conceived that by receiving among his dependents these fugitives he should add to the respectability of his government, and did not hesitate to enrol them among the number of his officers, assigning to them estates out of his own district; and sometime afterwards he marched, accompanied by the Mirzas, to subvert the power of Etimad Khan at the capital. In the first instance he took possession of Baroda without opposition; and having arrived at Mahmoodabad, within fifteen coss of Ahmudabad, he wrote to Etimad Khan, saying, -

"It is well known to all the world that my " attack on Talnere was in consequence of your " advice, and my defeat on that occasion arose " from your withholding reinforcements. I now " write to inform you, that I am thus far on my "road to pay my respects to the King; and "as it seems likely, if you are in the city " of Ahmudabad on my arrival, quarrels may " ensue between our soldiers even in the streets, "I recommend, in order to prevent the oc-" currence of such an event, that you imme-

^{*} The history of these princes is fully detailed in the reign of Akbur, in the second volume of this work.





"diately quit the capital and retire to your own sestates, permitting the King to retain around his person such people only as may be most acceptable to him." Etimad Khan, previously to the receipt of this communication, had collected the army, and marched, with Moozuffur Shah at its head, to the town of Kunoory, twelve miles from Mahmoodabad, where his and Chungiz Khan's troops met; but Etimad Khan is said to have been so dismayed at the appearance of Chungiz Khan's force, that he fled to Dongurpoor before the cavalry had even drawn their swords; and his officers, no doubt approving his conduct, followed his good example, and took different routes. A few only remained with the King, and escorted him back to Ahmudabad. Chungiz Khan marching on encamped at Butwa; and the King on the next day flying from his capital, Chungiz Khan entered and took possession. Sheer Khan Folady, who had formerly concerted with Chungiz Khan the downfall of Etimad Khan, apprehensive that the whole of the latter chief's estates would fall into the hands of the former, insisted on an equal partition, and marched to enforce his demand. Chungiz Khan, deeming it imprudent to dispute the point with Sheer Khan, ceded to him all the country westward of the Saburmutty. Meeran Mahomed Khan, who had defeated Chungiz Khan at Talnere, ventured now to penetrate into the centre of Guzerat, and arrived without opposition within a few miles of the capital. Chungiz Khan, however, having attacked and completely defeated him, compelled him to retreat to Aseer.



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After this event, Chungiz Khan gave up the territory contiguous to Baroach for the support of the Dehly princes, who were shortly after joined by Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein Mirza, the son-in-law of Hoomayoon Padshah, and who had lately escaped from the court of Akbur. It was not long before the Mirzas began to complain that the estates allotted to them were insufficient for their support, and seized on other places without consulting Chungiz Khan; and he was obliged to oppose them with ten thousand men. The Mirzas did not hesitate to meet this force; and having defeated it, followed up their success, and took many prisoners, both Abyssinians and Guze-Those who were young and beardless were retained as personal attendants, and the more aged were put to death under the most cruel and indecent tortures; some few only were permitted to depart alive. The Mirzas, however, perceiving that Chungiz Khan was making serious preparations to attack them, marched to Boorhanpoor, and having plundered it, proceeded thence into Malwa. The remaining part of the history of the Mirzas has been related in its proper place. * Shortly after this event, the officers who held the person of the King in subjection delivered him over to Etimad Khan at Dongurpoor, and remained some time with him; but his reduced circumstances having prevented his complying with the demands they made on him, they left Dongurpoor; and Hijaz Khan, Alugh Khan, and Seif-ool-Moolk, with some others, going

^{*} Vol. ii. reign of Akbur Padshah.





to Ahmudabad, joined Chungiz Khan. Some time afterwards, a confidential servant informed these officers that Chungiz Khan intended to invite them to play at chowgan* on the next day, when he proposed to seize and put them to death. "If," said they, "Chungiz Khan should go " to the palace, and send for you there, your cases will be more desperate, since you will then have " no opportunity to make your escape." The chiefs had scarcely obtained this information, when a servant of Chungiz Khan entering, said that his excellency proposed going out on the following day to play chowgan, and that he requested they would all be of the party. The officers who had lately abandoned Etimad Khan now concerted measures for their own safety; and on the next day, when they attended at the palace to accompany Chungiz Khan to the chowgan plain, Hijaz Khan took the right hand, and Alugh Khan the left, as they entered the play-ground, when giving each other a nod, Hijaz Khan drew his sword, and galloping up to Chungiz Khan, with a single blow struck off his head. The persons engaged in this transaction were, for the most part, Abyssinians. They immediately left the play-ground, and retiring to their own houses, prepared to oppose Chungiz Khan's party; but his nephew, Roostoom Khan, having collected the troops, caused the corpse of his uncle to be raised on his own elephant, and retired to Baroach, while the successful Abvs-

^{*} This game has been described, vol. i. p. 199., in a note.



synians, plundering the palace, wrote to Etimad Khan, inviting him to join them from Dongurpoor. Etimad Khan shortly after arrived with the King. The Mirzas, who had taken possession of part of the Malwa territory, on hearing of the death of Chungiz Khan, marched to re-occupy the countries of Surat and Baroach. Roostoom Khan defended the estates for two years, but was at last obliged to come to terms with them. On the first intimation of the advance of the Mirzas, Etimad Khan wrote to Sheer Khan Folady of Puttun, asking his advice; on which it was agreed that an army, consisting of three divisions, should be immediately assembled to expel them: that the first division should proceed in advance under Alugh Khan, an Abyssinian; the second under Etimad Khan, and the reserve under Sheer Khan Folady, to bring up the rear. The first division, under Alugh Khan, marched to Mahmoodabad, but Etimad Khan, with his accustomed cowardice, threw obstacles in the progress of the second corps, which he commanded, and refused to move; and Alugh Khan and the Abyssinians, disgusted at his pusillanimity, resolved to provide for themselves, by seizing on the districts of Cambay and Pitlaud. This measure, however, was frustrated by a quarrel which ensued between Alugh Khan and Hijaz Khan. The crafty Etimad Khan, taking advantage of this circumstance, induced Hijaz Khan to come to Ahmudabad, and to leave Alugh Khan to join Sheer Khan Folady. Amid these dissensions the King fled from Ahmudabad, and joined the Foladies at Gheiaspoor, near Sur-



kech. Etimad Khan now proposed to Sheer Khan that they should invite the Mirzas, then at Baroach, to assume the reins of government; but Sheer Khan not assenting, Etimad Khan sent an agent to Akbur Padshah of Dehly, inviting him to occupy Guzerat, and add it to the territory of Dehly, as in former times. Akbur having at this period, viz. A. H. 980, A. H. 980. reached Nagoor on his march to the southward, detached Peer Mahomed Khan to reduce Sirohy, where he was met by the Guzerat agents, upon which he lost no time in advancing on the capital of that kingdom. Sheer Khan Folady fled, and the Mirzas, who were at Ahmudabad, retired to Baroda and Baroach. Etimad Khan, and Alugh Khan the Abyssinian, alone had the honour of kissing the King's hands, and were enrolled in the list of the Dehly nobility; while the kingdom of Guzerat was Rujub 14. dissolved and re-united to Dehly, as a А. н. 980. Nov. 20. A. D. 1572. province of the empire of Hindoostan, on the 14th of Rujub, of the year 980.

Moozuffur Shah abdicated his throne in favour of Akbur, and was sent to Agra in the first instance, but was subsequently given over in charge to Moonyim Khan, to accompany that nobleman on his assuming charge of the government of Bengal. Akbur, however, shortly after, remanded Moozuffur Shah into close confinement; from which he not only effected his escape, but flying into Guzerat, collected a respectable force, attacked the viceroy, Kootb-ood-Deen Khan, and slew him in action; and after an imprisonment of nearly

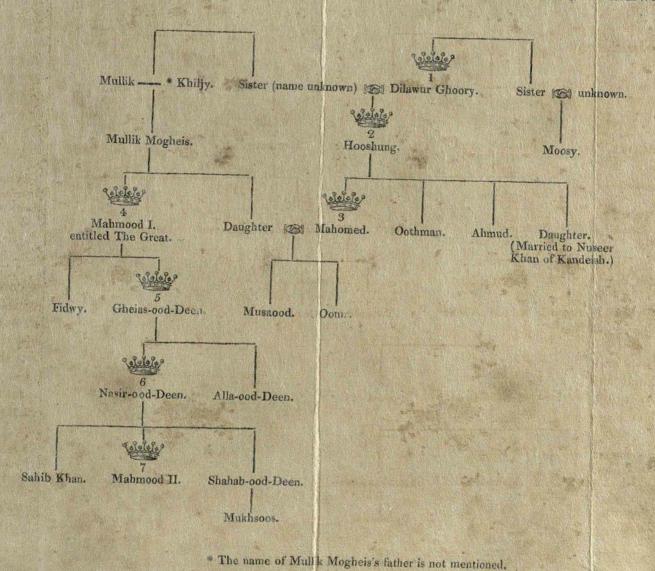


nine years re-ascended the throne of Guzerat. His reign was, however, of short duration; for in the year 991, Akbur having de-puted Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, the А. н. 991. A.D. 1583. son of Beiram Khan, to retake the kingdom of Guzerat, Moozuffur Shah was defeated in a pitched battle, and fled to Joonagur. The checkered and unfortunate reign of Moozuffur Shah lasted for thirteen years and some months (exclusive of nine years' confinement), and his downfall terminated the dynasty of the Mahomedan kings of Guzerat; since which period that kingdom has been considered as a province of Dehly, and the Emperor appoints a governor from his own court.





GENEALOGY OF THE GHOORY AND KHILJY DYNASTIES OF MALWA.





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CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF MALWA.

SOOLTAN DILAWUR GHOORY.

The origin of his coming to Malwa explained.— He receives
Mahmood Toghluk of Dehly after his expulsion by Tamerlane.
— Mahmood returns to his capital.— Dilawur assumes the
title of Shah, and causes himself to be acknowledged King of
Malwa.— Death of Dilawur Shah Ghoory.

The country of Malwa is extensive, and according to the best authorities has always been governed by independent rajas. It is bounded on the south by the river Nurbudda, on the north it has the Chumbul*; to the west is Guzerat, and on the east are the districts of Bundelkund and Gurra Mundla. The Hindoo histories go back as far as the reign of Bikramajeet†, after whom reigned Raja

^{*} Ferishta evidently means, that after Guzerat ceases to be the western boundary about Kota, thence the Chumbul running in a north-easterly direction towards the Jumna forms the northern limit of Malwa.

⁺ The accession of this monarch has given rise to an era which commences fifty-six years before Christ.



Bhoj and many others, who are all mentioned among the rajas of Hindoostan. During the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun of Dehly, in the year

710, the Mahomedans first invaded and conquered the province of Malwa; after which it acknowledged allegiance to that crown until the reign of Mahomedans. The son of Feroze Toghluk,

A. H. 789.

At this period Dilawur Khan Ghoory, whose real name was Hussun, a descendant on his mother's side from Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory of Damascus, was appointed governor of Malwa, previously to the accession of Mahomed the son of Feroze, and he subsequently established his independence. After him eleven princes reigned until the time of Hoomayoon Padshah, in the year 977 (A.D. 1569), at which period Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, and, some years after, Akbur Padshah, made incursions into Malwa; and the latter eventually subdued the kingdom, and attached it again to the Dehly government.

Dilawur Khan on assuming independence took up his residence at D'har, and very shortly afterwards brought under his subjection all the petty rajas of the province; but although he considered D'har as the seat of his government, he frequently visited the city of Mando, remaining there some-

times for months together.

In the year 801, Mahmood Toghluk being driven from his throne by Ameer Teimoor Korkan, made his escape from Dehly and fled to Guzerat; but not being received



by Moozuffur Shah in the manner he expected, he became disgusted, and sought protection in Malwa. On his arrival at the frontier, Dilawur Khan sent some of his relations, and the most respectable officers of his government, to meet the exiled monarch, and to pay him such attentions as were due to the elevated situation from which he had so lately fallen. On his approach within three marches of D'har, Dilawur Khan himself went forward, and meeting him, accompanied him to his capital, where he proffered for his acceptance all his wealth, both in specie and in jewels; declaring they were much at his service, and that both he and all his family considered themselves his Majesty's subjects. Alp Khan, the son of Dilawur Khan, disapproving of these acts of courtesy, quitted D'har on the first intimation of his father's intentions, and retired to Mando, where he remained during the residence of Mahmood Toghluk in Malwa. It was at this time he laid the foundation of that celebrated fortress which was afterwards completed by him. The work is constructed of solid masonry, and is deemed one of the strongest

In the year 804 Mahmood Toghluk, at the instance of the Dehly nobles, quitted Malwa, in order to resume the reins of his own government, taking from Dilawur Khan such a quantity of money and jewels as he deemed requisite. On his departure, Alp Khan returned and joined his father at D'har, after an absence of nearly three years. Dilawur Khan, at the instance of his son, shortly afterwards assumed royal state and

fortifications in that part of the world.



titles; such as the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, and coining money: he caused public prayers to be read in his name.

It is said that the grandfather of Dilawur Khan came from Ghoor, and held a high office under the Dehly government; that his father was enrolled among the nobility, and received a title; and that Dilawur Khan himself attained the highest rank in the reign of Feroze Toghluk. During that of his successor, Mahomed, he was nominated to the government of Malwa; and in the reign of Mahmood, in the year 804, he assumed royalty, and divided his kingdom A. D. 1401. into estates among his officers, whom he ennobled. Dilawur Khan only survived his assumption of the royal titles four years; for in the year 808 he died suddenly; and some historians have even asserted that he was poisoned by his eldest son and successor; but the accusation seems unsupported by any well-authenticated proof, and has been, in consequence, generally doubted.

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SOOLTAN HOOSHUNG GHOORY

Ascends his father's throne—is accused of poisoning his father—is attacked by Moozuffur Shah I. King of Guzerat—is taken prisoner, and the government placed in the hands of Noosrut Khan.— The inhabitants of Malwa revolt from Noosrut Khan, who is obliged to fly.—Sooltan Hooshung is released, and restored to his throne—he invades Guzerat, and supports a pretender to the crown.—Ahmud Shah invades Malwa.—Battle of Sarungpoor.—Retreat of Ahmud Shah. Sooltan Hooshung besieges Gualiar—besteges Kalpy, and makes the governor submit to his authority—wrests Kehrla out of the hands of the Hindoo raja.—Sooltan Hooshung appoints his son, Ghizny Khan, his successor, and dies.

After the death of his father, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa, under the name of Sooltan Hooshung Ghoory, and the nobles coming to court, paid their allegiance; but a rumour being prevalent at the time, that his father had been assassinated by him *, Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, in consideration of the intimacy which had subsisted between him and the late king, marched against Sooltan Hooshung; and in the beginning of the year 810, Moozuffur Shah reached A. H. 810. the fort of D'har without resistance, where Sooltan Hooshung opposed him.

* I have met with no details of this dark event; but the defection of the Malwa officers, and the attack made by the King of Guzerat, on the ostensible ground of deposing the murderer of a father, lead to strong suspicions against Hooshung, although Ferishta states that the accusation against him is generally doubted.



The armies came to action on the plain in front of the town, and engaged with mutual ardour; on which occasion Moozuffur Shah was wounded, and Sooltan Hooshung was unhorsed; but the troops still continued to fight desperately, till at length fickle fortune, who does not always favour the bravest, turned the scale in favour of Guzerat. Sooltan Hooshung threw himself into the fort of D'har, wherein he was closely besieged by the Guzeratties; but conceiving himself unable to cope with success against Moozuffur Shah, he surrendered at discretion.

Sooltan Hooshung was delivered over in charge to some of the Guzerat nobles, and Noosrut Khan*, the victorious King's brother, was left in charge of the government of Malwa, with a strong detachment from the Guzerat force; and the Malwa troops were directed to obey him as their leader. Moozuffur Shah then retired to Guzerat. Noosrut Khan, extorting large sums of money, and otherwise oppressing the inhabitants, created universal disaffection; so that Moozuffur Shah had scarcely retired from Malwa when Noosrut Khan, apprehensive of remaining longer in D'har, commenced his retreat to Guzerat; while the Malwa army, taking advantage of the circumstance, attacked and destroyed part of his force. The Malwites, however, dreading the vengeance of Moozuffur Shah, abandoned D'har, and took refuge in Mando, where they considered themselves safe, and created

^{*} He is also called Shums Khan, and appears to have been the possessor of Nagoor, which descended to his children, as appears in the Guzerat history.



Moosy Khan, nephew of the late Dilawur Khan, their leader. When this information reached Guzerat, Sooltan Hooshung, although a state-prisoner, wrote a letter with his own hand to Moozuffur Shah, saving, "Considering your Majesty as my " father and uncle, I am induced thus to address "you. The insinuations with which interested "persons have assailed your royal ear, I take "God to witness, are false. It is now reported "that the chiefs of Malwa, forgetting their duty " to the respectable Noosrut Khan, have insulted "him by electing Moosy Khan as their leader, " and that having usurped the control over the "territory of Malwa, they breathe the spirit of de-"fiance. If your Majesty will condescend to raise " me from the dust to which I have fallen, it is pos-" sible that I may recover the usurped dominion." Moozuffur Shah, after imposing certain conditions on Sooltan Hooshung, released him from confinement, and ordered his grandson, the Prince Ahmud, to reinstate him on his throne. In the year 811, Prince Ahmud, accompanied A. D. 1408. by Sooltan Hooshung, left Guzerat, and proceeded direct to D'har, which they soon reduced; and having reinstated Sooltan Hooshung in his authority, the Prince Ahmud returned to Guzerat. Sooltan Hooshung remained for some days in the city of D'har, where being shortly after joined by many of the Malwa officers, he sent communications to those in Mando, many of whom rejoiced at his arrival, and were ready to join him; but their families being in the fort they were unwilling to abandon them, and were, therefore,



unable immediately to form that junction which they so much desired. Sooltan Hooshung collected a small force and laid siege to Mando; but having lost a number of men without gaining any advantage, he conceived it better to disperse his army into separate detachments, in order to occupy the towns in the different districts.

In the mean time, Mullik Mogheis, the cousin of Sooltan Hooshung, held a private consultation with Mullik Khizr, commonly called Meean Agha, saying, "Notwithstanding Moosy Khan is a fine " young man, and is also my cousin, yet in point of " courage, ability, and good judgment, Hooshung " has borne away the palm from the rest of the " family. We have the means of putting him in possession of the throne, and I am desirous of pro-" moting the object, both on account of his cha-" racter and claims, as well as on account of my " affection for him, for he was brought up prin-"cipally under my own mother's charge." Meean Agha approving of the measure, they both quitted the fort during the night, and came direct to Sooltan Hooshung, who appointed Mullik Mogheis his minister and deputy during his absence, if such ever took place again. Moosy Khan having learned what had occurred, and despairing of maintaining his authority, abandoned the fort to Sooltan Hooshung, who assumed the government of Malwa.

In the year \$13, Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat dying, his grandson, the Prince Ahmud, succeeded to the throne, according to the will of his grandsire. On this oc-



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casion Feroze Khan and Heibut Khan, sons* of the late king, and uncles to Ahmud Shah, having determined to oppose him, raised troops in Baroach, and invited Sooltan Hooshung to march to their assistance. Hooshung, unmindful of the generosity of Moozuffur Shah, and forgetting the personal obligations he owed to Ahmud Shah, recollected only the first cause of the invasion of Malwa, and therefore resolved to march and lay waste part of Guzerat. Ahmud Shah having taken timely precautions, marched with a large force direct to Baroach, where the pretender and his brother were reduced to throw themselves on his mercy, while Sooltan Hooshung returned immediately to D'har. But so restless was the disposition of this prince, or so inveterate his enmity to the King of Guzerat, that he shortly afterwards involved himself in a new war.

In the year 816, having heard that A.H. 816. Abmud Shah had marched against the Raja of Julwara, and invested his capital, Sooltan Hooshung, in spite of the gratitude he owed the King of Guzerat, led an army into his territory, and laid it waste. Abmud Shah for the present postponed the attack on Julwara, and sent his troops to the east, towards Champanere, when Sooltan Hooshung fled with precipitation to Malwa. At this period, Mullik Nuseer, the elder son of the late ruler of Kandeish, having seized on Talnere, the hereditary estate of his younger brother, Mahomed Iftikhar,

^{*} It has been explained in vol. iv. p. 12. that these princes were the sons of Noosrut Khan, called also Shums Khan Dundany, and consequently the nephews of Moozuffur Shah.



the latter solicited the aid of Sooltan Hooshung, who sent his son Ghizny Khan with fifteen hundred cavalry to the south, when having secured the fort of Talnere, he proceeded to attack Sooltanpoor, a district of Guzerat; but on the approach of Ahmud Shah, the Prince of Malwa retreated. Ahmud Shah had no sooner gone to Sooltanpoor than the rajas of Guzerat, particularly those of Julwara, Champanere, Nandote, and Idur, taking advantage of his absence, wrote letters to Sooltan Hooshung, saying, that although they had not succeeded in their last attempt, yet if he would now invade Guzerat, they were prepared to assist him with all their forces; promising, at the same time, that they would furnish guides to lead his army by an unfrequented route into the centre of Guzerat, without Ahmud Shah's knowledge. Sooltan Hooshung, resolved to wipe away the stain which his character had sustained in his late unsuccessful invasion of Guzerat, collected his army, and marching in the year 821, entered the A. H. 821. country by the route of Mahrasa. Mean-A. D. 1418. while, Ahmud Shah having reached Sooltanpoor, Ghizny Khan fled precipitately to Malwa, and Mullik Nuseer to Aseer; but Ahmud Shah was surprised to hear that the King of Malwa had in the interim arrived at Mahrasa. Without a moment's delay, Ahmud Shah commenced his return to Guzerat, in spite of the heavy rain which fell at that time; and by rapid marches arrived in the vicinity of his capital, before information of his approach was brought to Sooltan Hooshung by the rajas. He accordingly



sent for those chiefs at whose invitation he had entered into the confederacy, and accused them of treachery in concealing from him the fact of Ahmud Shah's near approach, and made their silence an excuse to retreat by the same route he had advanced, abandoning the rajas, and leaving them to make their way to their different districts, overwhelmed with chagrin and disappointment. On Ahmud Shah's arrival at Mahrasa he halted only a sufficient time to refresh his troops, and then marching into Malwa, he penetrated as far as the town of Calliada near Oojein. Here he was opposed by Sooltan Hooshung, who was defeated, and fled to Mando, pursued by the Guzerat cavalry to the very gates of the fort, while Ahmud Shah followed as far as Nalcha. At this place he halted for some time, sending his light cavalry to scour the country, aware that the fort of Mando was too strong for him to attack with success. Ahmud Shah, therefore, conceived it prudent to confine his operations to D'har, to which place he marched; thence he intended to return to Oojein, but the rainy season setting in, his ministers advised him to defer the conquest of Malwa till the next year, when the campaign

might be opened under every advantage; А. н. 822. so that he returned to Guzerat in the. A. D. 1419. year 822.

Sooltan Hooshung had long evinced great partiality towards Mullik Mahmood, the son of his cousin Mullik Mogheis, and was at this time induced to confer on him the title of Khan, and the office of his father's deputy. He also directed



that whenever he should take the field this young man should accompany him, while Mullik Mogheis remained at the capital. In the latter end of the year, Ahmud Shah returned for the purpose of completing the conquest of Malwa; but on Sooltan Hooshung sending ambassadors with magnificent presents to appease his wrath, he accepted terms, and returned to Ahmudabad.

In the year 823, Sooltan Hooshung marched to the fort of Kehrla, on the frontier of Berar, and the Raja, Nursing Ray, opposed him with an army of fifty thousand men. A severe action ensued, wherein the Mahemedans were victorious; and Nursing Ray being slain, they besieged the fort of Sarungur, and took eighty-four elephants, together with all the Ray's treasures. Nursing Ray's son, being in this fort, signed a treaty, by which he consented to pay an annual tribute to the King of Malwa, after which the latter returned to Mando laden with booty.

In the year 825 he left Mando with A. H. 825. one thousand chosen cavalry, assuming the character of a merchant, and marched to Jajnuggur, one month's journey from Malwa. In order the better to conceal his object, he took with him borses of different colours; viz. bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey, such as the Prince of Jajnuggur was known to admire most, and many other kinds of merchandise considered scarce in his country, which the King intended to barter for elephants. The pretended merchants having ar-



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nuggur purchased his liberty with seventy-five large elephants; but Sooltan Hooshung obliged him, as a measure of precaution, to accompany him as far as the confines of his country, whence he permitted him to return, but not without having received from him a few more of his finest elephants.* On his approach to Malwa,

^{*} However romantic the whole of this expedition may appear, the fact of its occurrence is so fully authenticated by all contemporary authors that it can hardly be doubted. Elephants, so important in the warfure of those days, were



Sooltan Hooshung, hearing that Ahmud Shah of Guzerat had invaded the kingdom, and was now absolutely employed in the attack of Mando, entertained fears for the fate of the capital. On his arrival at Kehrla he induced the Raja to join him with his troops, after which Hooshung seized his person, and placed him in close confinement, by which means the King secured the fort of Kehrla, and left a garrison of his own troops therein, in order to ensure a position to fall back upon in case Mando should fall. Having taken these steps he marched to Mando, and entered the fort by the Tarapoor gate, on the south face. This fortification being one of the most extraordinary in the world, I think it proper in this place to give some description of it. It is built on the summit of an insulated mountain, said to be nineteen coss in circumference (28 miles). The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a deep ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mando must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep, and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the

absolutely necessary to enable Hooshung to oppose the King of Guzerat in the field; and the King of Malwa probably thought no person so fit to select them as himself.



name of the Tarapoor gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up, and on whatever side it is approached a pass must be surmounted; so that the enemy's force, though it occupies the several accessible roads, is necessarily divided, and one party may be cut off without receiving assistance from another. The road on the north leading to the Dehly gate is by far the most easy of access. Ahmud Shah, finding it useless to besiege a fort of this nature, sent out detachments from the army to occupy the surrounding country, himself marching through Oojein towards Sarungpoor. Sooltan Hooshung took advantage of his retreat to make forced marches by a more direct route; and reaching Sarungpoor before him, he sent a communication to the King of Guzerat, in order to delay his approach, saying, "The blood of the faithful depends on us; " let us restrain, then, our hands from mutually " destroying the true believers. I beseech you, " therefore, to desist from this warfare, and return " to Guzerat; meanwhile let hostilities cease, and " receive my ambassador with the usual offerings, "who has power to conclude an eternal peace "between us." Ahmud Shah, relying with confidence on so solemn an appeal, neglected the ordinary military precautions necessary in an enemy's Mohurrum 14. country; and Sooltan Hooshung, availа. н. 826. ing himself of the circumstance, marched with his army on the 14th of Dec. 29. A. D. 1422. Mohurrum, in the year 826, and made

a night-attack upon the Guzerat camp; the con-



sequence was, that many of the Guzeratties were killed without opposition. The Malwites penetrated to the royal pavilion of Ahmud Shah, which was guarded by five hundred Rajpoots under the command of Savunt Ray, Raja of Dundooka, afterwards known by the name of the Kurry Raja. These brave men fought desperately, and were nearly all destroyed. Their gallantry alone enabled Ahmud Shah to make his escape under cover of the night; but he remained on the skirts of the camp, actively employed in collecting his dispersed soldiers, and at day-break he led a small but resolute party against the victorious Malwites. Sooltan Hooshung behaved with great bravery, and fought desperately: both he and Ahmud Shah were wounded; but the King of Malwa, on whom the face of victory never smiled, was defeated, and threw himself into the fort of Sarungpoor. Ahmud Shah, by this event, not only recovered all the property he had lost, but in addition took twenty elephants from Soultan Hooshung, besides seven of those he had lately brought from Jajnuggur, and which conveyed his treasure.

Con the 4th of Rubbee-oos-Sany Ahmud Shah commenced his retreat to-mud Shah commenced his retreat to-wards Guzerat; and Sooltan Hooshung, March 16. elated by this movement, pursued and harassed the rear of his army daily. He compelled him at length to halt, and await the result of an action. The Malwites at first succeeded in breaking one wing of the Guzerat line; but it was so well supported by Ahmud



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Shah in person, that he repelled the onset, and was at length victorious, obliging Sooltan Hooshung to fly to Sarungpoor. The Malwa army lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, on this occasion, four thousand nine hundred men; and Ahmud Shah reached his frontier without further molestation. Sooltan Hooshung repaired to Mando, and recruited his defeated army. With respect to the journey of Sooltan Hooshung to Jajnuggur, a different account is given of it by one historian; but as I conceive that narrative not to be so authentic as this, and having given both accounts at length in my Guzerat history, I shall content myself with what has been already said on this subject.

Sooltan Hooshung, having recruited his forces, marched to besiege the fort of Gagrone, which shortly fell into his hands; from thence he proceeded to attack Gualiar, and had closely invested it for one month, when he heard that Syud Moobarik, the son of Khizr Khan, was on his march to the assistance of the Raja, by way of Byana. Having raised the siege, Sooltan Hooshung advanced as far as Dholpoor to meet him, when, after a few days' negotiation, a peace was concluded, mutual presents were exchanged, and both returned to their respective countries.

In the year 832, Ahmud Shah BahA. H. 832.
A. D. 1428.

muny, King of the Deccan, made an attack on the fort of Kehrla with a large force. Sooltan Hooshung obtaining information of this event from the late Nursing Ray's son, marched



to his assistance; but the Deccanies, hearing of his approach, commenced their retreat, and were pursued by the King of Malwa. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, however, being hard pressed, caused the army to move on by rapid marches, and remained in the rear with a select body of troops. At length the Deccanies offered Soultan Hooshung battle. The conflict was not declined; but Ahmud Shah Bahmuny remained in ambush with a select body of cavairy. The King of Malwa (as had been anticipated) attacked the main body with fury, but was steadily received by the Deccanies; and being unprepared for the ambuscade into which he had been drawn by his enemy, was attacked in the rear, and his troops, according to custom, fled in great disorder, leaving in the hands of the enemy all their heavy baggage, and the followers of the army. Among the latter were the females of Sooltan Hooshung's family; to whom, after treating them with every respect, and allowing them a few days' rest, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny gave an escort of five hundred cavalry, with orders to convey them back to Mando.

In the year 835, Sooltan Hooshung marched for the purpose of taking the fortress of Kalpy, then in charge of one Abdool Kadur, a Dehly officer. On arriving within a few miles of the place, he heard that Ibrahim Shah Shurky of Joonpoor was also on his march to reduce Kalpy; and conceiving it necessary to defeat him in the first instance, Sooltan Hooshung marched to oppose him. The Malwa



and Joonpoor armies were within sight of each other, and a battle was hourly expected, when Ibrahim Shah Shurky (hearing that Synd Moobarik, King of Dehly, was on his march to attack Joonpoor,) commenced his retreat to his capital without delay, leaving Sooltan Hooshung to return to Kalpy, which shortly after surrendered. Having ordered public prayers to be read in his name, and having received homage from Abdool Kadur, Sooltan Hooshung delivered over the charge of the government to him, as before, and returned to Malwa. On the road, he obtained information that a band of daring freebooters from the Jam hills had taken up their abode at the Houz-i-Bheem, and infested the country of Malwa. consequently marched in that direction; and having destroyed the Houz-i-Bheem, he returned to Mando, from whence he proceeded to Hooshungabad, where he remained during the rainy season.

It is related, that about this period Soultan Hooshung, being one day on a hunting-party, lost a ruby from his tiara. On the third day it was found and brought to him by a foot-passenger, who received five hundred tunkas for his honesty. Soultan Hooshung observed, "This circumstance "puts me in mind of a similar event which hap-"pened to Feroze Toghluk, King of Dehly, pre-"viously to his death. One day that king having lost a ruby from off his head on a hunting-"party, gave five hundred tunkas to a peasant "who found it. Sometime after, Feroze said, "This is a hint to me to prepare for my long journey into the other world, when I must part



" with all the rubies and other jewels which I pos-" sess." Sooltan Hooshung also remarked, that he was sure this circumstance portended his own dissolution. The courtiers observed, that he should recollect that when Feroze made this speech he was upwards of ninety years of age, and it was not surprising, therefore, that death very shortly verified his prediction. "Your Majesty," they said, " is, by the blessing of God, just now in " the prime of life, the circumstances, therefore, " appear altogether different." He was, however, shortly after afflicted with a violent attack of the stone. On the approach of this dangerous disease, he marched towards Mando, having formally proclaimed his eldest son, the Prince Ghizny Khan, his successor; and laying hold of the young man's hand in public durbar, delivered him into the hands of his favourite minister, Mahmood Khan, who promised to support his right to the throne, even to the last drop of his blood. The King then dismissing the durbar, sent for Malmood Khan, whom he knew to be ambitious, and suspected that he might some day take advantage of the division of interests among the young princes to usurp the government. He told him plainly of his apprehensions, and made him again swear to defend Ghizny Khan, and also to be vigilant in watching the motions of Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, who, he observed, was " an ambitious and enter-" prizing prince, and contemplated the eventual conquest of Malwa." Mahmood Khan swore the most implicit obedience to Ghisny Khan, and the whole of the present royal family; and the King.



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at his instance, consented to release the young Prince, Oothman Khan, from confinement, and to give him an estate on which he might reside, and have no plea for disturbing the reign of Ghizny Khan. The heir-apparent, having heard what was in contemplation, sent for Mahmood Khan, and proposed that his brother should be required to take the oaths of allegiance to him in the King's presence. Mahmood Khan returned to his own house, where he received a secret deputation from Mullik Oothman Julwany and the Prince Oothman Khan. The agents commenced by flattering Mahmood Khan, and observing, that they were surprised at a person of his discretion recommending Ghizny Khan as the King's successor, who, although the elder, was by no means to be compared, either in courage or talents, to his younger brother. Mahmood Khan was not disposed to dispute the qualifications ascribed to Oothman Khan, but was unwilling to have his courage or abilities brought in competition with those plans which he himself meditated on the throne; being fully convinced, that neither the disposition nor ability of Ghizny Khan were calculated to withstand the efforts he had resolved to make to forward his own views for the eventual usurpation of the government. Mahmood Khan therefore replied to the deputies, that it was his business to obey the will of his sovereign, who had declared Ghizny Khan his successor, and remarked that he had never presumed to oppose his wishes.

Zuffur Khan, a person of Prince Oothman's party, despairing of the King's life, fled from camp,